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FOR AMBASSADOR FROM LAINGEN

FOLLOWING REPEAT LISBON 3258 SENT SECSTATE INFO BONN BRUSSELS COPENHAGEN LONDON MADRID MOSCOW OSLO PARIS ROME STOCKHOLM THE HAGUE NATO USUN NEW YORK VIENNA DIA WASHDC CINCLANT USCINCEUR USNMR SHAPE DATED JUNE 9.

QUOTE

UNCLAS LISBON 3258

3.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, PROP, PO

SUBJ: COMMUNIST ORIENTATION OF CULTURAL DYNAMIZATION PROGRAMS

1. "EXPRESSO" JUNE 7 CARRIED WHAT PURPORTS TO BE TEXT OF CHAPTER 9 OF HANDBOOK PREPARED BY 5TH DIVISION OF ARMED FORCES GENERAL STAFF FOR ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT (AFM) CULTURAL DYNAMIZATION TEAMS. EMBASSY TRANSLATION FOLLOWS.

BEGIN TEXT

2. WHAT POLITICS ARE

A. TODAY, ONE YEAR AFTER THE OVERTHROW OF THE LONG NIGHT OF FASCISM, MANY PEOPLE STILL ASK WHAT IS DEMOCRACY, SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM, ETC. WE SHALL ATTEMPT TO GIVE A BRIEF IDEA WHAT THESE ARE.

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B. DEMOCRACY SIGNIFIES A REGIME IN WHICH THE PEOPLE WIELD THE

POLITICAL POWER. THE VERY WORD ITSELF SIGNIFIES THIS. IN FACT, IF WE DIVIDE THE WORD DEMOCRACY INTO ITS TWO CONSTITUENT GREEK WORDS (DEMOX PLUS KRATIA) WE SEE THAT DEMOS SIGNIFIES PEOPLE AND KRATIA SIGNIFIES POWER. BUT HAVING SAID THIS, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT WE STILL DO NOT KNOW WHAT DEMOCRACY IS, FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT MANY OF US DO NOT FULLY UNDERSTAND WHAT THE WORD PEOPLE MEANS

C. WHAT ARE THE PEOPLE? A LABORER, A FARMER, AN OFFICE WORKER, ETC., ARE EFFECTIVELY PART OF THE PEOPLE. BUT ARE CAPITALISTS PART OF THE PEOPLE? OF COURSE NOT, THESE MEN ARE NOT PEOPLE, BUT EXPLOITERS OF THE PEOPLE. ALSO NOT PART OF THE PEOPLE, IN OUR VIEW, ARE ALL THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHOSE WORK CONSISTS OF OPPRESSING AND EXPLOITING THE WORKERS ON BEHALF OF THE CAPITALISTS--CERTAIN ADMINISTRATORS, MANAGERS, AND SUPERVISORS WHO ARE TRUE LACKIES OF THE EXPLOITERS.

D. THEN WHAT ARE THE PEOPLE? WE UNDERSTAND THAT ONLY THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO GENERATE WEALTH OR CONTRIBUTE TO THIS ARE PART OF THE PEOPLE. THE PEOPLE ARE THEN THE WHOLE OF THE WORKERS IN A COUNTRY.

3. A. NOW THAT WE HAVE AN IDEA OF WHAT THE PEOPLE ARE, WE CAN BETTER UNDERSTAND WHAT DEMOCRACY IS. THIS WILL PREVENT US FROM BEING DECEIVED, A GREAT DANGER IN THESE DAYS DURING WHICH ALMOST EVERYBODY CALLS HIMSELF A DEMOCRAT.

B. THEREFORE, WHEN CAN IT BE SAID THAT THE PEOPLE WIELD THE POWER, OR IN OTHER WORDS, WHEN DOES A TRUE DEMOCRACY EXIST? FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD DEMOCRACY (AUTHENTIC DEMOCRACY) EXIST WHEN THE PEOPLE ARE NOT THE MASTERS OF THE WEALTH THEY CREATE? IF THE ECONOMIC POWER RESTED IN THE HANDS OF THE CAPITALISTS, IF THEY WERE THE OWNERS OF THE FACTORIES, THE LAND, THE MINES, THE MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION, ETC., COULD DEMOCRACY EXIST? OF COURSE NOT, WE KNOW THAT ECONOMIC POWER IS THE STRONGEST POWER, THAT BASICALLY IT COMMANDS THE POLITICAL POWER AND IDEOLOGICAL POWER. C IN THE REGIME THATLASTED UNTIL THE 25TH OF APRIL THESE THREE POWERS WERE IN THE HANDS OF THE FASCISTS. TODAY THE SITUATION IS DIFFERENT, THE FASCISTS LOST THE POLITICAL POWER AND WILL LOSE IN GOOD MEASURE THE IDEOLOGICAL POWER. THEY STILL HOLD, HOWEVER, THE ECONOMIC POWER, THE STRONGEST OF ALL, AS WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN. IN FACE OF THIS WE ASK: DOES THERE NOW EXIST A TRUE DEMOCRACY IN PORTUGAL? THE MEASURES TAKEN BY PRESENT REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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THE FIRST STEPS IN THAT DIRECTION.

4. A. IT IS NECESSARY THAT WE DISTINGUISH BETWEEN TWO TYPES OF DEMOCRACY: BOURGEOIS DEMODRACY AND POPULAR DEMOCRACY. WHEN IS A DEMOCRACY BOURGEOIS? WHEN THE BOURGEOISIE (THE CAPITALISTS) ARE IN POWER. AND WHEN IS A DEMOCRACY POPULAR? WHEN THE PEOPLE ARE THE ONES WHO WIELD THE POWER.

B. A BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY IS A DEMOCRACY IN NAME ONLY, A FACADE.

IT DOES, NEVERTHELESS, GRANT SOME LIBERTIES, THE PEOPLE CAN SPEAK, MEET, JOINT ORGANIZATIONS, ETC., BUT IT ALSO GRANTS ONE LIBERTY WHICH KILLS IN LARGE PART ALL THE REST, AND THIS IS THE LIBERTY FOR MAN TO EXPLOIT MAN. IN A BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY WORKERS DO NOT HAVE AUTHENTIC LIBERTY FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT THEY ARE NOT THE MASTERS OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION (FACTORIES, FIELDS, MINES, ETC.).

CM THIS IS NOT THE CASE ANY LONGER IN THE POPULAR DEMOCRACIES WHERE THE PEOPLE ARE THE ONES IN POWER. THIS IS PRECISELY THE SITUATION IN HUNGARY, POLAND, AND CZECHOSLVAKIA, ETC., WHERE THE WORKERS SIMULTANEOUSLY HOLD THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND IDELOGICAL POWERS.

5.A. WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM?
WE CAN SAY THAT A TRUE DEMOCRACY IS ALWAYS A TRUE SOCIALISM AND
VICE VERSA, A TRUE SOCIALISM IS ALWAYS A TRUE DEMOCRACY.
AS WITH DEMOCRACY, TODAY WE HAVE TO METNION TWO TYPES OF SOCIALISM:
BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM AND PROLETARIAN SOCIALISM.
B. BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM IS THAT WHICH EXISTS IN CERTAIN EUROPEAN
COUNTRIES AND IN WHICH SOCIALISM EXISTS ONLY IN NAME. FUNDAMENTALLY IT IS NOT MUCH DIFFERENT FROM BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY, IT ONLY
THROWS A LITTLE MORE DUST IN THE EYES OF THE WORKERS SO AS TO
BETTER HIDE CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION.
C. PROLETARIAN SOCIALISM IS THE SAME AS POPULAR DEMOCRACY.
PROLETARIAN SOCIALISM EXISTS IN THE SOVIET UNION, IN HUNGARY, IN
EAST GERMANY, IN BULGARIA, IN CUBA, ETC. IN THESE COUNTRIES THE
EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN HAS DEFINITELY ENDED AND FOR THAT

6. A. PROLETERIAN SOCIALISM IS THE FIRST PHASE OF COMMUNISM. WHAT DISTINGUISHES SOCIALISM FROM COMMUNISM? WE CAN PUT IT THIS WAY: THE RICHES OF SOCIALISM ARE DISTRIBUTED "TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS LABOR; UNDER COMMUNISM THEY WILL BE DISTRIBUTED "TO EACH UNCLASSIFIED

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ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS."

REASON SOCIALISM THERE IS NOT A FACADE.

B. IT IS WORTHWHILE TO TREAT THESE TWO FORMUALS IN GREATER DETAIL. IF WE ACCEPT THAT WEALTH BE DISTRIBUTED "TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS LABOR" WE ARE ELIMINATING THE POSSIBILITY OF HAVING PEOPLE LIVING OFF SOMEONE ELSE'S LABOR, OR IN OTHER WORDS, ELIMINATING CAPITALIS. A SYSTEM IN WHCH WORKERS RECEIVE ACCORDING TO WHAT THEY PRODUCE IS A JUST AND HUMANE SYSTEM AND LEADS TO GREATER PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOR DUE TO THE INCENTIVE WHICH IT OFFERS. IN THIS WAY THE CONDITIONS ARE CREATED FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETIES OF PLENTY WHERE THE WORKERS DO NOT CONTINUE TO RECEIVE ACCORDING TO WHAT THEY PRODUCT BUT RECEIVE ACCORDING TO THEIR NEEDS. THIS WILL THEN BE A COMMUNIST SOCIETY.

7.A. MANY PEOPLE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE POSSIBILITIES FOR CREATING COMMUNIST SOCIETIES. THEY AFFIRM THAT MAN BY NATURE IS

SELFISH, THAT IF HE IS GIVEN THE POSSIBILITY OF HAVING HIS NEEDS SATISFIED, THERE WOULD NOT BE SUFFICIENT PRODUCTION TO SATISFY THEM. THIS IS A PESSIMISTIC VIEW OF THE NATURE OF MAN, IN LARGE PART INCULCATED IN PEOPLE BY THE VARIOUS RELIGIONS. IT IS NATURAL THAT MEN, LIVING IN A SOCIETY WHERE THERE ARE REGIMES WHICH SANCTION EXPLOITATION, CANNOT FAIL TO HAVE A SELFIH SPIRIT (WITH CERTAIN EXCEPTIONS, OF COURSE). BUT THIS ALREADY HAS BEEN OVERCOME IN REGIMES IN WHICH THE EXPLOITATIN OF MAN HAS ENDED, AS IS THE CASE OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETIES (OF PROLETARIAT SOCIALISM)

B. IN THE PROCESS OF CONSTRUCTING SOCIALISM, MAN EDUCATED HIMSELF ON ALL LEVELS. ONE OF THE FACTORS WHICH CONTRIBUTES MOST TO HIS EDUCATION IS HIS OWN WORK, WHICH HE COMES TO RESPECT IN GROWING DEGREE. AND WHEN THIS RESPECT FOR WORK REACHES THE DEGREE THAT WE ALREADY SEE TODAY AMONG CERTAIN ARTISTS, WHEN WORK CONSTITUTES FOR EACH WORKER ONE OF THE GREATES SOURCES OF PLEASURE, OF HUMAN REALIZATION, THEN ONE HAS PASSED TO COMMUNISM. THERE WEALTH WILL BE ABUNDANT AND WORKERS WILL BE MATURE ENOUGH NOT TO MAKE ABSURD DEMANDS, SINCE THEIR NECESSITIES NEVER WILL INCLUDE THE SUPERFLUOUS BUT ONLY THE ESSENTIAL. END TEXT.

8. COMMENT SEPTEL. CARLUCCI UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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